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THE PICTS.

[BY THE EDITOR.]

II.

THEIR HISTORY FROM CLASSICAL SOURCES.

MODERN writers, as well as the classical authors, agree that the east of England and of Scotland, as far as the Firth of Forth or thereabouts, was, at the time of the Roman invasion and conquest, in the possession of Gaulish tribes. The evidence for this lay in the fact of the practical identity of manners and customs, of language, and even of names, between the Belgic tribes and the inhabitants of the eastern portion of Britain. It is thus allowed that these tribes spoke an early form of the British variety of the Celtic language. This Celtic dialect Professor Rhys has called the Brythonic, as opposed to the other leading branch, the early Gaelic variety, which he calls Goidelic. At this time, too, it is generally conceded that Ireland was possessed by the Goidelic Celts. Beyond this, agreement among writers on the subject does not go. Who inhabited western England and western and northern Scotland? Professor Rhys is of opinion that these districts, all save the northernmost portion of Scotland, were inhabited by Goidelic tribes, who in England were receding before the immigrant Gauls. He believes that all England had been possessed by the Goidels, and that they were pushed westwards by the conquering Brythons, just as they in their turn yielded to the Saxons. We know that there were Goidels in Wales and Cornwall in the fourth

and fifth centuries, and perhaps later ; they have left their funeral monuments there with inscriptions in a language which is evidently an early form of Gaelic, inscriptions too which find their parallel only in the south of Ireland. The inference is that these Goidels were the remnants of the old Goidelic population of England ; but it is only an inference, for they were more likely the Goidels of the Picts and Scots' invasions of the fourth and fifth centuries. There is no proof that outside Wales and Cornwall the Goidels ever inhabited England, for the place names prove no such thing. So far as place names are Celtic, they are also Brythonic, or at times common to both branches. So far as evidence goes, England's Celtic inhabitants were Brythonic ; they were invaded by Scots from Ireland in the fourth and fifth centuries on the West.

At the time of the Roman Conquest, the portion of Scotland south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, with the exception of the so-called Picts of Galloway, is allowed to have been Brythonic. Ptolemy, the geographer, who wrote some forty years after Agricola's conquest, represents the Damnonii as stretching from Ayr to the river Tay, and this tribe was certainly Brythonic. Indeed, its northern portion, cut off from the rest by the wall of Lollius Urbicus, corresponds fairly well to the subsequent British kingdom of Fortrenn, which lay between the Tay and the Forth. To what race or races, Celtic or non-Celtic, the people of Scotland north of the Tay and the Firth of Clyde belonged is a point on which little agreement obtains among modern writers. They first appear in history in the campaigns of Agricola from 80 to 86 A.D. After extending and consolidating his power in England, Agricola, in the third year of campaigning, entered Scotland, and over-ran the country as far as the Tavaus or Tay, a campaign which, in Tacitus' words, "disclosed new nations." In the subsequent campaigns, he secured his conquests by a chain of forts built across the narrow neck of land between the estuaries of the Clyde and Forth, with the result, his biographer says, of shutting off the enemy into what was practically another island. Thereafter he penetrated into the country beyond his forts as far as Cupar Angus, without encountering any serious opposition. His progress, however, and the sight of his fleet, which accompanied the land army as much as possible, alarmed the natives,

and they determined to resist him in force. In the year 85, both armies met at a place called by the classical writer Mons Granpius, which is believed to be near the meeting of the Isla with Tay, and there the Caledonian army, under the command of Calgacus, was defeated. Agricola then led his forces into the territories of the Boresti, who lived somewhere between the Tay and the Forth, and from there returned to his winter quarters south of the Forth. Next year Agricola was recalled, and the Caledonians were not further molested nor any serious attempt made to subdue them for over a hundred and twenty years.

Caledonia is the name which Tacitus gives the country which Agricola thus invaded, and the only tribal names he gives are those of the Caledonians and the Boresti, and the only personal name he mentions is that of the Caledonian leader, Calgacus. He tells us that the Caledonians were tall, large-limbed, and red-haired (*rutilae comae*), facts which, he thought, pointed to a Germanic origin. They were provided with short targets and long pointless swords, which were useless in close fight, and they had chariots as well, which only helped to increase the confusion into which they were thrown. The speech which Tacitus puts in the mouth of Calgacus is, of course, unauthentic, and is intended as a lecture of rebuke to Roman vices, and there is in it no effort to give a true picture of Caledonian life and ideas. Speeches of this ideal and declamatory kind are common in the classical authors, and to take them as anything else than the writer's own conceptions of what ideally ought to have been said is to misunderstand the matter entirely. In such a case, to expect a reference to community of wives, and not rather an appeal to conjugal and filial affection is to misconceive Tacitus' position. Tacitus argued that the Caledonians were Germans from their physical appearance. In this he is wrong; but they may be claimed as next door neighbours to the Germans; they may have been Belgae originally. Dr. Beddoe says that "if only the Belgae had spoken Gaelic, as Dr. Guest believed, the difficulty" of Highland ethnological characteristics would not be so great, for "the attendants of Jovinus [Belgae] are not unlike modern Gaels." Now, if the Caledonians spoke a Brythonic language, perhaps the same as the Belgae, might this not suit Dr. Beddoe equally as well as the

theoretic necessity of the Belgae speaking Gaelic? The name Caledonia is common to both Celtic branches. The root is seen in Gaelic *coill* (wood), old Irish, *caill* (the stem being originally *caldit*-); in Welsh it is *celli* (grove), the stem of which would originally have been *caldia*. The English equivalent root is seen in *holt*, and the Caledonii answer to the Germanic *Holtsates*. The name further appears in *Dunkeld*, Gaelic *Dùn Chaillinn*, old Gaelic *Dun Chaidlen*, and in the mountain *Sith Chaillinn*. It is evidently a Brythonic form of the word that remains to us in *Dunkeld*. Of *Calgacus* or *Galgacus* we can say nothing definitely as to root, and the *Boresti* are generally allowed to have been Brythonic; if, in regard to the name, the *Bor-* stands for the British *Vor-*, we may have a modern equivalent in *Forres*. The *p* in the name *Granius* at once decides its non-Goidelic character; if it is Celtic, it is also Brythonic.

The next important authority on Scottish history is Ptolemy, the geographer, who wrote about the year 120 A.D. He gives us the names of fourteen tribes as inhabiting the Caledonia of Tacitus. In southern Scotland he places these tribes: between the southern Roman wall and the Forth, along the east coast, the *Otadini* and *Gadeni*; the *Selgovae*, whence modern *Solway*, to the west in *Dumfries*; and the *Novantae* in the modern counties of *Kirkcudbright* and *Wigtown*. North of these, stretching as far as the *Almond* and *Tay*, were the *Damnonii*, lying across the neck of Scotland, as it were; the *Epidii* were in *Kintyre* and *Dumbarton* northwards, and along the west coast lay the *Cerones*, *Creones*, *Carnonacae*, and *Careni*; along the north coast in *Sutherland* and *Caithness* were the *Cornabii*; the *Lugi* and *Mertae* were more southerly in *Sutherlandshire* and the *Decantae* were in *Easter Ross*. The *Caledonians* stretched across country from *Loch Long* to the *Inverness Firth*, over *Drumalban* and on the south of the *Great Glen*. To the east of the *Caledonians* were the *Vacomagi* in eastern *Inverness*, in *Nairn*, *Elgin*, and part of *Perth*; the *Tæxali* were in *Aberdeenshire*, and south of these lay the *Vernicones* in *Mearns*, *Angus*, and *Fife*.

The position here given to the *Caledonians* is not what we should expect, and Professor *Rhys* suggests that their territory lay indeed from sea to sea, as Ptolemy has it, but that it

stretched from Loch Long to the Tay and along its basin to the sea. The remains of their name in Dunkeld and Sith-Chaillinn point to Perthshire as their real position. Two or three of these tribes have names which recur in England. There were Damnonii in Devon and Cornwall, Cornavii in Caithness and in Shropshire, and Decantæ in Ross-shire and in North Wales. Comparatively few of these names can be now identified. Selgovæ gives modern Solway, the Novantæ had their name from the river Novios, the modern Nith, the Otadini may have been the Welsh Guotodin, the west coast tribes, Cerones, Creones Carnonacæ and Carini seem to be remembered in the lochs Crinan, Creran, Carron, Kearon, Keiarn, etc.; Cornavii is well known in Cornwall, but there is no Scotch representative, and its root is Gaelic and British *corn*, a horn. The Tæxali appear to have left their traces in the parish names of Tough and Towie of Aberdeenshire, for *x* may appear in modern Brythonic as *ch*, as we see in the Ochill hills from *Uxello*-, Ochiltree being from *Uxello*-treb-, and so forth. Among other Brythonic forms are Epidii (Goidelic *Equidii*, horsemen?) and the Ver- of Vernicones. We may look briefly at Ptolemy's river, estuary, and town names in and around Pict land. The estuary of the Forth is Boderia, Tacitus' Bodotria. The next estuary is that of Tava, the mouth of the Tay, while the mouth of the Eden river between the Tay and the Forth is called Tina. North of the Tay is the Deva river, which is the philologic ideal form of the modern Dee (goddess), a Brythonic river name of common occurrence, and thereafter comes the promontory of the Tæxali, or Kinnaird's point. Along the Moray Firth we have the Celnus (Cullen) fitting the Devern, Tuessis for Spey, the Loxa for the Lossie, and the Varar estuary for the Inverness and Beauly Firth. Northward we come to "High Bank," and further still is the Ila—the Ulie or Helmsdale river. Then come three promontories, Veruvium, Vervedrum, and the Orcas or Tarvedrum, which make the northern capes of Scotland. On the west we find, besides the Douēkalēdonian sea or Atlantic Ocean, the river Longus and the bay Lemannonius, which get mixed somehow for Loch Long and Loch Lomond. He places five Ebudæ islands to the North of Ireland, of which Maleus is Mull, and the

others further south are Epidium, Engaricenna, and the two Ebudae, and there is further south still the island Monarina, which may answer to Arran. The estuary of Clota is opposite that of Boderia, and passing the Vindogara Bay at Ayr, we come into the Solway Firth—the Ituna (Eden) estuary, past the Novantae promontory, where the three rivers enter, Novios (Nith), Deva (Dee), and Jena. The names of the towns among the Selgovae and Novantae prove the Brythonic character of these "Pictish" localities: Uxellum and especially Leucopibia. The latter is evidently Whithorn, and the name half Greek, half Brythonic, means White-horn, *-pibia* being probably for *-pipia* (Eng. *pipe*), the earlier form of which would be somewhat like *qviquia*. The towns of the Damnonii within Pictish ground were Alauna (at the junction of the Allan with the Forth), Lindum at Ardoch, and Victoria in western Fife. Orrea was the town of the Vernicones, perhaps at Abernethy. The town of the Tæxali was Devana, far inland in the Strath of Dee, near Loch Daven, but it is tempting to compare it to Aber-deen for *Devona*, the "fons addite divis" of Gaul. The Vacomagi had their southmost town called Tamea, further north was Banatia; Tuessis was on the Spey at Boharm, and on the Moray Firth was the "Winged Camp," which is supposed to have been Burghead. There are no towns mentioned for the other northern tribes. On the whole, the place-names show on Pictish ground some traces of Brythonic origin either in form or in use: in form, we have, for instance, Granpius and Epidii, and the Ver- of Vernicones, and, in use, the river name of Dee, which does not appear to have been in use to designate rivers among the Goidels.

Lollius Urbicus was sent in 139 to subdue the tribes between the southern wall and the Firths of Forth and Clyde, and he it was that first drew a wall across the narrow neck of land that separates the two estuaries. Irruptions of the independent tribes into the Roman province took place intermittently for the rest of the second century, but little is known about them. Matters became so serious that in 208 A.D. the Emperor Severus himself came to Britain and equipped the most formidable army that ever invaded Caledonia. The tribal names had meanwhile altered, and we hear from the contemporary writers of only two nations—

the Mæatae, near the northern wall, and the Caledonii, farther away. Graphic descriptions are given by Dio Cassius and Herodian of the inhabitants and their way of life. They had no cities, and they neglected the cultivation of the ground, living by pasturage, the chase, and the natural products of the earth. They fought in chariots, and, besides the sword and shield ascribed to them by Tacitus, they had now a peculiar spear, with a brazen knob at the end of the shaft, calculated to terrify the enemy. They had also a dagger. They had wives in common, and the whole progeny was reared as the joint offspring of each community. They painted their bodies, puncturing thereupon pictures of all kinds. Herodian says:—"They puncture their bodies with pictured forms of every sort of animals; on which account they wear no clothing lest they should hide the figures on their body." A further reason for their little or no clothing is found in the marshes they had to wade through. Of course, as Mr. Skene points out, the Romans saw these people only in summer, when they were on the war-path; of their home life they could not speak with equal authority. Severus cut his way through the country along the East Coast to the Moray Firth, and he seems to have returned across the Grampians through Perthshire. No regular battle was fought, but Severus lost on this expedition no less than 50,000 men. On his return he reconstructed and improved the wall between the Forth and Clyde. Severus died at York in 211, just when the Barbarians once again broke the treaty and poured into the district between the walls. We know little of Scottish history for nigh another century after Severus. Constantius Chlorus about 306 invaded Caledonia, and the contemporary panegyrist Eumenius introduces us to yet another general name for these northern tribes: "*Non dico Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum silvas et paludes.*" Here we have the "Caledonians and other Picts;" he includes the Caledonians among this people whose name is here brought before us for the first time. A period of half-a-century elapses before we again find reference to Scottish history under date of 360, when the Picts and Scots ravage the Roman province; the Picts ravaged the districts between the walls and the Scots probably attacked from Ireland the whole western sea-board, and

especially Wales, "per diversa vagantes," as Ammianus Marcellinus puts it. Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacots kept the province in one continuous state of confusion and trouble ("Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis.") The Attacots we know little more about than that they were a warlike nation of the Britons, and the Picti were now divided into two nations, the Dicalidonae and the Vecturiones or rather the Verturiones, as Professor Rhys has so excellently emended the reading of the text, for this name of Verturiones is the forerunner of the name of Fortrenn, the British kingdom that lay between the Tay and the Forth. Theodosius, the elder, arrived in 369, expelled the invaders from between the walls, restored the cities and stations, and once more manned and secured the northern wall. The confusion in the Roman world at the end of the fourth century was the opportunity of the Picts and Scots, and for a quarter of a century they harassed the province in a most pitiable manner. The drain of native recruits from Britain to help in the continental struggles for the imperial purple helped further to weaken the province. To the last, however, the Romans, when they could, sent help. In 410 the Romans had to let go their hold on Britain, and the provincials were forced to depend upon themselves. How they succeeded is little known, but when British history begins to emerge from the 150 years' darkness that shrouds it after the departure of the Romans we find this state of matters: Teutons possess eastern England and Scotland to the Forth; the Britons, the former inhabitants, have been pushed into Cornwall, Wales, the western counties of Lancashire and Cumberland, and into Strath Clyde. North of the Forth and Clyde, the Picts are the dominant power, while a colony of Scots, who came from Ireland early in the sixth century, possess Dalriada, the kingdom of Argyle. After the historical darkness, the scene opens in the last half of the sixth century upon the period of the four kingdoms, viz., that of the Angles of Northumbria, the Britons of Strath Clyde, the Picts north and south of the Grampians, and the Scots of Dalriada.

THE TRAGEDY OF CLACH-NAN-CEANN.

A SGEULACHD OF THE RANNOCH CAMERONS.

(Continued.)

THERE was then a feud in existence between the Camerons and Mackintoshes, which raged with more or less violence from time to time; but such feuds did not, as a rule, interfere with the interchange of hospitality or with the operations of small straggling parties hunting or fishing on neutral territory. It was, therefore, perfectly consistent with the manners of those days that these two companies should sit down to eat together, as described, on a cordial and even friendly footing. The Mackintoshes, whose appetites had been whetted by a long march over the heather, did ample justice to the viands set before them, and were charmed with the kindness and attention shown them by the Camerons. The chief and Ewen got on remarkably well together; and the former was so pleased with the entertainment that he invited Ewen and his brothers to join in the expedition he was then engaged in, which they at once consented to do.

The united party of Mackintoshes and Camerons were soon on the move, and rapidly wending their way in the direction of Dunan. They arrived about an hour before sunset; and, having hid themselves amongst the large boulders that are so thickly strewn over that locality, they watched the coming out of the maiden to milk her cows. While here they were all with throbbing hearts waiting the arrival of the expected prize, Ewen began to doubt very seriously as to the propriety of his having taken any part in such an enterprise. What right, thought he, had any man to seize a free-born woman, and carry her away by force from her own home? And was he justified in assisting The Mackintosh to carry out this wicked proceeding? As such thoughts were passing through his mind, Marsali appeared; and every breath was suspended and every eye fixed on her. With her milk-pail on her arm she moved along towards her cows with all the ease, grace, and stateliness of a queen. A murmur of "hush" passed from

man to man as she began to sing; and when, with wide compass of voice and inimitable pathos, she sang a Gaelic song expressive of the feelings of a maiden in distress and her desire to be delivered by some hero from her oppressors, Ewen experienced a thrill passing through his heart, which made him feel that he could lay down his life in defence of such a damsel. All at once the chief gave the word of command; and his men, having slipped quietly from their hiding-places, made a rush forward, seized the maiden, and, notwithstanding her remonstrances, and struggles, and screams, threw a plaid over her and carried her off in triumph towards the west. The Mackintosh and Ewen, in deep silence, followed behind the carrying procession; and neither of the two gave any assistance to the eight men who, in relays of four at a time, bore the fair prize so lightly and rapidly along.

When the party reached a spot about half-way between Dunan and Corour, and satisfied themselves that the coast was clear, a halt was called; and as Marsali, with dishevelled hair and troubled countenance, was sitting on the ground surrounded by her guard of armed men, The Mackintosh presented himself to her as her lover. He appeared before her in his blandest manner; and when he opened his mouth to speak, his lips seemed to drop honey at every word he uttered. Apologising for the fright he had given her and her present inconvenience, he told her she must attribute the whole of this to his love for her; that the flame she had kindled in his bosom had rendered him to a certain extent desperate; that, although he carried her away, it was he that was in reality her slave, and not she his; and that if she would consent to become his wife he should make her the happiest as well as the greatest and most honoured lady in the land. Marsali stared him with a mingled expression of indignation and scorn, and said, "Gun gleidh Ni Math mise bho duine a labhras briathran milis bho chridhe cealgach," *i.e.*, "God preserve me from a man that speaks sweet words from a deceitful heart!" "A run mo chridhe," *ars esan*, "co a b'urruing ach briathran ciuin milis gradhach a labhairt fa chomhair d'aodainn bhoidheach?" *i.e.*, "Desire of my heart," said he, "who could help speaking calm and loving sweet words before thy beautiful face?" Marsali retorted—

" 'S ann air a shon fhein a ni 'n cat an cronan,
'S is fìor an sgeul so a thaobh Mhicantoisich."

That is—

" 'Tis for itself the cat purrs,
And this proverb holds true regarding The Mackintosh."

On hearing this taunting allusion to the cat, the Mackintosh men got quite furious. They reproached Marsali for her unbecoming language towards their clan, as well as her conduct towards their great chief; and they plainly told the latter that it was his duty to violate her so as to bring her to her senses. The chief felt her gibe very keenly; but, although his eye was seen to flash, he preserved a calm outward demeanour, and said, "You see, my dear, how you have stirred up my men to anger, and you hear what they wish me to do to you; but, I assure you, it is my sincere desire that you so act towards me that such a proceeding will be wholly unnecessary." "O, you hypocrite," exclaimed Marsali, "I see through you now; but I repeat what I said to my parents already, that sooner than consent to become your wife, I will suffer myself to be torn asunder by wild horses." And she burst into a flood of tears. Hereupon Ewen, whose tide of feelings had been all along steadily rising in favour of the maiden, drew his sword and said, "I joined you, chief, supposing that this was a true love affair on both sides; but I will shed the last drop of my blood sooner than allow this young woman to be forced to take any man's hand against her will." Cameron's face glowed with a noble enthusiasm, and his large frame seemed to distend to gigantic proportions, as he spoke these spirited words; and Marsali felt a thrill of gratitude to heaven that there was at least one man in the company to champion her cause. And Iain and William Cameron also declared, that they agreed with their brother's sentiments, and would with their bodies defend the maiden against all who should interfere with her freedom of action. The Mackintosh bit his lips; and the frown that passed over his face showed that a tumult of fierce emotions was raging within his breast. But, conscious of having landed himself in an awkward, if not dangerous, predicament, he was still able, by an almost superhuman effort, to hide his rage under an apparently smooth outward appearance. "Seeing matters have come to this pass," said he, "I have a proposal to make. The whole company

of men will form a circle ; and, Marsali, you must choose a husband from amongst us." Marsali replied—" I am quite agreeable to this, provided you swear over your dirk that you will not interfere with me after I have made my choice." He, still hoping that he himself should be the man, solemnly swore that he would acquiesce, whatever the decision might be. She thereupon promptly chose Ewen, who politely offered her his arm, and walked off with her in triumph, his two brothers following with drawn swords. Marsali, looking over her shoulder, nodded to The Mackintosh and laughed aloud. He shook his fist at her, and said, " Cluinidh mise do GHLAODH fhathasd." " I shall hear you cry yet." She scornfully retorted—" Cha tig an la sin," *i.e.*, " That day shall not come ! " " Air aghart ! air aghart ! " arsa Eoghan, " mu'm faic sinn an leum cuthaich tha'm fraoich Mhic-an-toisich." That is—" Onward ! onward ! " said Ewen, " lest we see the fit of madness that is in the rage of the Mackintosh."* This chief was proverbial not only for the smoothness and sweetness of his outward bearing when in good humour, but also for the ungovernable fury of his wrath when he was roused ; and Ewen hastened to steer clear of him before the storm should burst forth.

The Camerons and Marsali did well to move out of the way ; for the expected storm on this occasion proved to be a hurricane. As soon as the party had disappeared, The Mackintosh showed such extreme violence in his manner and looks as almost to produce the impression that he was temporarily insane. His eyes stared wildly, and he foamed about the mouth ; he stamped and jumped, and, flourishing his dirk right and left and up and down, he swore that he would extirpate the whole Cameron race. His men looked on with a sort of silent awe, though now and anon some of them by their winks and nods showed that they had not been wholly unaccustomed to such scenes. At length, wearied by his exertions, he sat down on a piece of green sward, and there carried on a most extraordinary operation. Raising up his dirk he repeatedly brought it down with great force and sheathed it to

* The proper form of the proverb is—

Is minig a bha leum cuthaich
Am fraoch Mhicantoisich.

the hilt in the sod, and at each time he gnashed his teeth, and said—"Mo bhiodag an cridhe Camaronach eile," that is, "My dirk in the heart of another Cameron!" And this went on until he imagined he had slain all the Camerons! The green spot where this imaginary massacre of the Cameron clan took place is still to be seen on the way between Dunan and Corour; and, as the solitary shepherd passes over it with his crook and dog, he cannot help recalling, in imagination, the figure of the fierce and disappointed chief who sat there and, in his rage at having lost his lady love, stabbed the ground so many hundreds of times with his dagger!

When The Mackintosh called on the Macgregors and told them the issue of his love affair, their wrath was very great. Marsali's conduct was severely condemned by her parents, who said it was quite intolerable that she should have refused such a good and suitable match, and run away with a mere adventurer, whom she had never seen before. Macgregor of Ardlarich was so enraged at the whole business that he swore he should stab Ewen with his dirk for his impudence, provided he ever got the opportunity. And, worst of all, perhaps, was the way the country side laughed at the disappointed anger of the Sliosmin magnates, as expressed in the following gibing couplet, still handed down to us:—

"An talach ud thall thar call nighean Dhunain,
Macantoisich gun phosadh do bhrìgh's gun do dhiult i."

That is—

"The complaint o'er the way for the lost Maid of Dunan,
Mackintosh unmarried because she refused him."

Meanwhile Ewen and his brothers led Marsali along in a south-easterly direction; and having carried her across the river Gaur by the nearest ford, they rapidly travelled due east through the Sliosgarbh, and did not halt until they reached their own primitive cottage, which was situated near the modern, charming residence of Croiscrag. Here they rested all night; and, having proceeded next day to Fortingall, Ewen Cameron and Marsali Macgregor were duly united there in the bonds of holy wedlock; and when the happy party returned to the Sliosgarbh, it was acknowledged by all who saw them that a handsomer married couple had never before graced the fair scenery of Rannoch.

Marsali entered on her house-wife duties at Croiscrag with a zeal and self-denial which could only spring from a true, womanly heart. The site of her dwelling, which has since been made so plain by labour and a liberal use of gunpowder, was then one of the roughest and rockiest spots in Rannoch. Here, by her industry, cleanliness, thrift, good temper and desire to make her husband and his two bachelor brothers happy, she practically proved what a blessing in a household a good and virtuous woman always is as the help-meet of man. Ewen loved her with all the intensity of a strong and romantic nature; whilst his brothers, touched with a sense of her goodness as well as the dignity and gentleness of her bearing and disposition, rendered her the service and reverence due to a queen. It seemed as if the highest type of love and reverence in Rannoch then converged from the hunting grounds of the Sliosgarbh towards the little cottage that nestled amongst the rugged rocks of Croiscrag!

One day, about a month after the marriage, when the three men were away hunting in the Black Wood, Marsali, from the door of her cottage, observed her mother's face, peering in her direction from behind a distant rock, and she distinctly heard her voice saying—

"Did ort a Mharsaili
Thairis air na creagan mòr;
Is là math a Mharsaili,
'S an nochd Clann-Ghriogair air do thòir!"

That is—

"A peep at thee, Marsali
Across the big rocks;
And good-day, Marsali,
To-night Clann-Gregor thee pursues!"

On hearing this Marsali ran to the spot to meet and welcome her mother; but to her great surprise she could not see her anywhere. She went round every rock and boulder in Croiscrag, examining them carefully, and crying out as she went along, "Where are you, dear mother? Where are you, dear mother?" But her mother had somehow mysteriously disappeared, and no trace of her could be found, although her ominous words still continued to ring in Marsali's ears, and to make her feel the uncertainty and, perhaps, danger that was hanging over the future. She retired to the cottage with an eerie feeling that seemed to find its liveliest

expression in a rising on end of the hairs of her head, and earnestly mused over the question—Did her mother really come in the flesh to mock and terrify her with these words, and then by some means or other disappear? or was it the spirit of her mother that came with them as a friendly salutation and warning?

When the men came home from the chase Marsali related to them how she had seen her mother, and the strange words she had uttered, and her sudden and mysterious disappearance. Ewen listened very attentively to all the circumstances of the vision, and then gravely said—"This is a warning like the one given me at Loch Erich; and we must watch and be brave men to-night, for we shall have plenty to do; but heaven is on our side, else we should not have this sign of danger given us." This interpretation was regarded as authoritative; and all was now a scene of bustle and confusion in the work of preparing for the coming contest. The Croiscrag rock was barricaded at every entrance round about the cottage, and every log of wood and loose stone in the vicinity was put to some use to make good the defence.

The following mode of defending themselves was adopted:—Should the assaulting party be small, that is fourteen (a ceathairn) or under, they proposed to make a sudden sally on them when scattered here and there, and boldly attacking them with large clubs, knock them down and disarm them, which would save bloodshed. If, on the other hand, the number should be great, they resolved to defend themselves from within their fortress with their bows and arrows, and sell their lives as dearly as they could.

Having made the proper dispositions, the three brothers awaited the arrival of an attacking band with as much certainty of their coming as if they had actually seen them. Each man mounted guard at an appointed station, and Marsali, having a due sense of the common danger, armed herself, and expressed her determination to fight to the last in defence of her hearth and home. At length, about midnight, William brought the following intelligence:—That twelve men had just landed at a point four hundred yards to the west, the leader, he thought, being Macgregor of Ardlarich; that on landing they divided themselves into three companies of four men each; that one

company was defiling eastward along the shore ; that the second went off south-east to attack from the opposite side ; and that the third remained stationary with Macgregor himself near the point of landing. Ewen promptly gave the necessary orders :—“ Marsali, you defend the ramparts, and we attack and disarm first the party on the shore, then the party on the south side, and, when we have done so, we turn against the main party.”

SIGMA.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE MACLEODS.

[BY ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.]

(Continued.)

THE MACLEODS OF LEWIS.

RODERICK MACLEOD'S rule proved disastrous to the Siol Torquil in the Lewis, and terminated the supremacy of his house in that island principality. How this was brought about now falls to be considered ; and, in doing so, we shall have to carry the reader at considerable length through one of the most barbarous and fratricidal conflicts of which there is any trace in clan history. The sources of information are very scant, but we hope to succeed in giving a more complete account of this period of the history of the Lewis and its inhabitants than has ever yet been done.

The feud between the Macdonalds of Sleat and the Mackenzies, already referred to, had been aggravated by Donald Gorm's raid on Kinlochewe and Kintail—where the chief of Sleat was killed—and was greatly intensified by the mixed relations which later on existed between these two powerful families, and the respective claimants for ascendancy in the Lewis. We shall first supply an account of the position of the leaders in the island and their supporters, from an independent and unprejudiced historical source, after which we shall, at greater length, give the more detailed account preserved in the oldest existing manuscript history of the Mackenzies, which, though not written by a clans-

man, may possibly be suspected of a slight bias in favour of that family. The Mackenzie version will, however, be found generally accurate, and, on the whole, fair.

Gregory informs us that Roderick Macleod was married, as his first wife, to Janet, daughter of John Mackenzie of Kintail. In all other accounts she is said to have been Macleod's second wife, but, as Gregory points out, Barbara Stewart, said by the other authorities to have been Roderick's first wife, was alive and styled Lady Lewis, in 1566, while Torquil Conanach, Macleod's son by Janet Mackenzie, is found engaged in active life, having arrived at manhood in 1554, twelve years before that date, and this Torquil had a son grown-up in 1585, nineteen years only after mention of Barbara Stewart is found in the public records and as being then alive. It is thus conclusively established that Janet Mackenzie, Torquil Conanach's mother, was Roderick's first wife. She appears to have been an illegitimate daughter of John Mackenzie of Killin, IX. of Kintail, and to have married as her first husband Mackay of Reay. Her mother seems to have been a Strathconan woman, by whose relations her son, Torquil Conanach, was fostered, which accounts for this sobriquet, by which he is afterwards known. In several of the Mackenzie family manuscripts this is affirmed. This clearly shows that Torquil was not the son of Mackenzie's daughter by his wife, who we know to have been Elizabeth, daughter of John, tenth Laird of Grant, a family that never had any connection whatever with Strathconan.

The issue of Macleod's marriage with this Janet Mackenzie, and widow of Mackay of Reay, was Torquil, "afterwards, from his residence among his mother's relations in Strathconan, surnamed Connanach." His mother, according to Gregory, having subsequently eloped with John MacGillechallum of Raasay, was divorced by Macleod, who at the same time disowned and disinherited her son, alleging that he was not his son, but the son of Hucheon Morrison, the *Breitheamh*, or hereditary Celtic Judge of the Island.*

* It appears from the Treasurer's Accounts that on the 23rd of July, 1551, Patrick Davidson is paid the sum of £10 by the King's Treasurer that he may go to the Lewis to charge "M'Cleude of the Lewis and Hucheon of the Lewis to come to my Lord Governor [Arran] at the aire of Inverness." Hucheon was thus Roderick's contemporary, and indirectly was the cause of the final ruin of the Lewis Macleods.

After this divorce, Macleod, in 1541, married Barbara Stewart, daughter of Andrew, Lord Avandale, by whom he had a son, also named Torquil, and surnamed *Oighre*, or the heir, to distinguish him from his eldest and alleged illegitimate brother, Torquil *Conanach*. Torquil Oighre, described as "a young chief of great promise," was in or before 1566, with many of his attendants, drowned in a storm while on his way from Lewis to Waternish, in the Isle of Skye. This is the Torquil, and not Torquil Conanach, as suggested by the editor of *The Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, to whom Queen Mary addressed the following letter in 1563:—"Torquil Macleod: We greet you well. We are informed that some of the Isles are desirous to have you allied to them by marriage; and because you have that honour to be of the Stewart blood, we thought expedient to give you advertisement that it is our will and pleasure that you ally yourself to no party in marriage without our advice, and until we declare our opinion to yourself therein. Subscribed with our hand at Inveraray, the 23rd of July, 1563."*

Roderick's son, Torquil, by Barbara Stewart, left no male issue. This gave fresh spirit and hope to Torquil Conanach's supporters, the most powerful of whom were his mother's relations, the Mackenzies of Kintail. He had also the aid of the Macdonalds of Glengarry, he having married a daughter of their chief. She afterwards, in 1590, has six davachs of land in the Lordship of the Lewis, and other lands on the mainland, granted to her in life-rent by her husband, and in the same year confirmed by James VI. In the charter she is described as "Margaret Nyne Angus Makalexander," or Margaret, daughter of Angus, son of Alexander of Glengarry. This lady married, either before or after she married Torquil Macleod, one of the Cuthberts of Castle Hill, Inverness, by whom she became the progenetrix of Charles Colbert, Marquis of Seignelay, the famous Minister of Louis XIV. of France.

Various events occurred at this time which intensified the feud between the contending parties. In or about 1568, Roderick Macleod of the Lewis was seized by Torquil Conanach, and was detained by him in prison for a period of four years. Being

* *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v., p. 396.

brought while in captivity before the Earl of Mar, then Regent, and the Privy Council, he was obliged to resign all his estate to the Crown, and to take a new destination of it in 1572 to himself in life-rent, and after his death to Torquil Conanach, who is designed in the charter as his son and heir. Immediately on Roderick's release, however, he revoked all that he had agreed to when a prisoner, on the ground of coercion and the undutiful conduct of Torquil, by an instrument of revocation dated the 2nd of June in the same year, and preserved in the Dunvegan character chest. Fresh dissensions followed, and "at length father and son were summoned to Edinburgh, where, in presence of the Regent Morton and the Privy Council, they agreed to bury in oblivion their mutual animosities. Torquil Conanach was again recognised as heir-apparent of the Lewis; and, in that character, received from his father the district of Coigeach and various other lands for his support during the life of the latter." This reconciliation, however, was only of short duration.

On the 26th of April, 1573, Roderick comes under an obligation to John Campbell, Bishop of the Isles, to bring in the Bishop's fruits, rents, and emoluments, and cause all over whom he has authority to do the same. He is to make to his lordship and his Commissioners and factors thankful payment of all things owing within his country, and to be obedient "anent all good ordinances, laws, and constitutions and corrections concerning the Kirk, as the acts and constitution of the Reformed Kirk of Scotland bears and was used in the last Bishop's time." The document is subscribed on his behalf by Ranald Anguson, parson of Uig, "at the command of ane honourable man Roderick McCloid of the Lewis, because he culd not writt himself, his hand led on the pen."* He appears about this time to have got into trouble for his treatment of the fishermen who visited the Lewis, and in 1576 he and his son Torquil Conanach come under the following obligation:—

Edinburgh, 26th of June, 1576.—The which day Rory Macleod of the Lewis and Torquil Macleod, his son and apparent heir, become acted and obliged that they by themselves,

* The document will be found printed at length in the *Transactions of the Iona Club*, pp. 6-8.

and taking burden upon them for their kin, friends, servants, tenants, assistants, and partakers, shall behave themselves as dutiful and obedient subjects to our Sovereign Lord and his authority; that they shall observe and keep His Highness's peace and good order in the country in time coming; and on no wise molest, stop, trouble, or make impediment to any [of] his Majesty's subjects in their lawful trade of fishing in the lochs of the Lewis, or others in the North Isles of this realm; nor otherwise raise any "towist," extortion or imposition upon them, but to use them as our Sovereign Lord's good subjects, causing them [to] be assured of meat and drink, and other their necessities upon their reasonable expenses in all times hereafter, as they will answer upon their obedience and under all highest pain, etc.

In 1585 the dispute between Roderick and Torquil was renewed with even greater violence than ever. The old chief had recently married, as his third wife, a sister of Lauchlan Maclean of Duart, by whom he became the father of two sons, Torquil Dubh and Tormod. He had also in the meantime five bastard sons, all of whom arrived at man's estate, and three of whom supported their father, who now once more disinherited Torquil Conanach, at the same time naming Torquil Dubh, his eldest son by Hector Maclean of Duart's daughter, as his heir. The other two bastards—Tormod *Uigeach* and Murdoch supported Torquil Conanach. Tormod was soon after slain by his brother Donald, who was in turn seized by Murdoch and delivered to Torquil for punishment. Donald, however, managed to escape, and shortly after captured Murdoch, who was at once imprisoned by Old Rory in the Castle of Stornoway. Torquil Conanach thereupon took up arms for Murdoch's relief, besieged the castle, took it after a short siege, liberated his brother, again made his father, Old Rory, prisoner, and killed a large number of his men. He, at the same time, secured and carried away all the writs and charters of the family, ultimately giving them over to his own relative, Colin Mackenzie of Kintail. Before leaving the island, he sent for his eldest son, then being brought up under the Earl of Huntly, and appointed him keeper of Stornoway Castle, in which the youth's grandfather, Old Rory, was confined and left under his charge. John continued in possession for some time, but was ultimately killed by his bastard uncle, Rory Og, when the old man once more regained his liberty, and obtained

possession of his estates, which he is said to have retained for the rest of his life.

Immediately on hearing of his son's death, Torquil Conanach apprehended, and executed at Dingwall, his bastard brother, Donald, who, it was alleged, was a party to the doings of Rory Og, and to have had a hand in the death of Torquil's son.

Soon after this Roderick Macleod of the Lewis, with Lauchlan Maclean of Duart, Donald Gormeson of Sleat, and Tormod Macleod of Harris are summoned before the King and Council to give their advice regarding the good rule and quietness of the Highlands and Isles. From this it would appear that he was at the time on good terms with the Government, though that uncommon and happy relationship does not seem to have long continued.

On the 11th of November, 1586, a complaint by the Burghs of the Realm against several of the Highland and Island chiefs for molesting Burgesses engaged in the fisheries in the North Isles and mainland, is brought before the Privy Council. Among those mentioned in the complaint are Roderick Macleod of the Lewis and Torquil Macleod of Coigeach, who, with all the others, not one of whom answered the summons charging them to appear, were denounced as rebels and put to the horn.

In May, 1596, a royal proclamation was issued commanding all the Earls, Lords, Barons, and freeholders worth three hundred and upwards of yearly rent, and all the Burgesses of the Realm, to meet the King at Dumbarton, on the 1st of August following, well armed, with forty days' provisions, and with vessels to carry them to the Isles to reduce the Island lords to obedience. Maclean of Duart and Macdonald of Sleat at once repaired to Court and made their submission. Roderick Macleod of Harris, and Donald Macdonald of Glengarry, surrendered themselves about the same time and secured terms.

At this time Torquil Dubh Macleod, Roderick's eldest son by his third wife, held possession of the Lewis, but his right to do so was disputed by Torquil Conanach and his friends more violently than ever. Both, however, agreed to abide by certain terms of arbitration proposed by the Exchequer, each hoping to have his own title recognised as heir to the estate—and they were in

consequence on this occasion excluded from the list of disobedient clans to be proceeded against.

All this time the mainland estates remained with Torquil Conanach, and the result of the mutually agreed upon reference to the Exchequer was that he was now recognised by the Government as the legal heir to all the lands belonging to the family in the Lewis as well.

Both Torquil's sons were now dead, and his eldest daughter and co-heiress, Margaret, married Roderick Mackenzie, brother and tutor of Kenneth, afterwards first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, into whose arms he now threw himself, and to whom he ultimately conveyed the whole barony of Lewis so far as charters enabled him to do so.

Torquil Conanach's brother and competitor, Torquil Dubh, had married a sister of Rory Mor Macleod, XII. of Harris and Dunvegan, and, strengthened by his powerful alliance, he ravaged the lands of Coigeach and Lochbroom, on the mainland, belonging respectively to Torquil Conanach and Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, who had succeeded his father, Colin, in 1594, Torquil Dubh at the same time openly intimating his determination to keep by force what he thus acquired. He became very popular with the clan, and was in this raid joined by seven or eight hundred followers, who enabled him, in spite of the great power of the Mackenzies, to set his rival, Torquil Conanach, at defiance. Soon after, however, Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail made a formal complaint against him to the Privy Council, dated at the Chanonry of Ross, on the 3rd of January, 1596-7, in which he makes a charge against Torquil Dubh of prosecuting with fire and sword, on the 25th of the previous December, "the Strath Coigeach, pertaining to Macleod, his eldest brother; likewise my Strath of Lochbroom," to the King's great dishonour, without fear of God, and "in such barbarous and cruel manner, that neither man, wife, bairn, horse, cattle, corns, nor bigging has been spared, but all barbarously slain, burnt, and destroyed," by the aid of his neighbouring Islesmen. As the immediate result of this complaint, Torquil Dubh was summoned to appear before the Privy Council to answer the serious charges made against him; but he naturally hesitated to present himself before

a body, of which his accuser, Mackenzie, formed one, and who at the time had great influence with his brother members. Torquil Dubh was in consequence formally denounced a rebel; and, having shortly after been seized, with many of his principal followers, at the instigation of Mackenzie and Torquil Conanach, by Hucheon Morrison, the Celtic Judge of the Lewis, they were delivered over to Torquil Conanach, by whom, in July, 1597, they were executed at Coigeach without further ceremony. This severity only irritated Torquil's surviving followers and adherents, amongst whom the most conspicuous and able was his bastard brother, Neil, who at once, supported by the Macleans of Duart and the Macleods of Harris, determined to maintain what he considered the legitimate rights of his nephews, Torquil Dubh's three youthful sons. In their name and interest Neil assumed command of the Lewis, and by his prowess and determination Torquil Conanach's ultimate success, though he was stoutly supported by the Mackenzies, was, to all appearance, as far off as ever.

In this year, 1597, an Act of Parliament was passed, by which every one claiming lands in the Highlands and Isles had to produce their titles on or before the 15th of May following, at Edinburgh, or wherever the Lords of the Exchequer might be sitting, or suffer the penalty of forfeiture. Torquil Dubh was one of those who did not put in an appearance; and it does not seem that he had any written titles to produce, the Lewis charters having some time before been removed by his rival, Torquil Conanach, and given to Mackenzie of Kintail. The island was in consequence declared to be at the King's disposal.

On the 16th of December, 1597, an Act was passed for the erection of three royal burghs in the Highlands, one of which was to be in the Lewis. This Act, modernised, is in the following terms :—

Our Sovereign Lord, with advice of the Estates of this present Parliament, for the better entertaining and continuing of civility and policy within the Highlands and Isles, has statute and ordained, that there be erected and built within the bounds thereof three burghs and burgh towns, in the most convenient and commodious parts meet for the same; to wit, one in Kintyre, another in Lochaber, and the third in the Lewis: to the which burghs

and the inhabitants thereof our Sovereign Lord and the Estates foresaid, shall grant, and by these presents grant, all privileges which His Highness and his predecessors have granted to any other burghs or inhabitants thereof within the realm: And that it shall be lawful to our Sovereign Lord, by the advice of the Lords of His Majesty's Exchequer, to give, grant, and dispense to every one of the said burghs so much land and ground furth of His Highness's annexed property, as may serve to build the said towns upon the same, with so much land and fishings next adjacent thereto, in Common Good, to every one of the said three towns as may sustain the common charges thereof, to be held in free burgage of His Highness, in such form and manner as His Majesty's most noble progenitors of worthy memories have granted of old for the erection of other burghs of this Realm.

This Act was never carried into effect—but it led eventually to the erection of the three towns of Campbeltown, Fort-William, and Stornoway, but the first named only secured the privileges of a Royal Burgh.

(To be continued.)

THE CHISHOLM OF CHISHOLM.—It is officially announced that, in consequence of the death of the late Chisholm without issue, the Lord Lyon has granted, *ex gratia*, to James Chisholm-Gooden, Esquire, London, in virtue of his descent, the arms of the Chisholm family, and supporters having clubs reversed to indicate female descent; and also authority to adopt and use the name of Chisholm, in addition to his own, to be borne hereafter by himself, family, and descendants. Mr. Gooden Chisholm is the lineal representative and direct descendant in the male line, only one step removed, of the elder branch of this ancient and popular Highland family. ALEXANDER CHISHOLM OF CHISHOLM (eldest surviving son of The Chisholm who entailed the estate in 1777) married Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Wilson, Edinburgh. By this lady, The Chisholm, who died on the 17th of February, 1793, at the age of forty-four years, left issue—an only daughter, MARY, who married James Gooden, a wealthy London merchant, with issue, two sons, one of whom, Alexander, died unmarried, and JAMES CHISHOLM-GOODEN CHISHOLM, the present Chisholm. By the entail of 1777, the male representatives of sixteen families were to succeed until their entire male representation was exhausted, when the estates were directed to go to the entailor's nearest relative. The last male representative of these families died in the person of Roderick Macdonald Matheson Chisholm of Chisholm, who died, unmarried, on the 4th of April last. The entail was, however, broken by his father, the late James Sutherland Chisholm, whose estates have now passed to his wife and two daughters, who survive him. There is thus no male descendant to claim the chiefship of this ancient clan, and even if there was, the property has now been disposed past them to the female representatives of the most remote collateral branch of the family mentioned in the entail of a hundred and ten years ago. The question therefore arises, Who has the best right to be considered the head of the ancient house of Chisholm—the direct descendant of the elder branch of the family, represented by MR. CHISHOLM-GOODEN CHISHOLM, through his mother, the only daughter and heir of line of The Chisholm who died in 1793, or the female representative of the late James Sutherland Chisholm, representing a remote, collateral branch of the family that would never have succeeded were it not for the terms of the entail which he had himself since broken? The entailor's nearest relative unquestionably now is MR. GOODEN CHISHOLM, London, and he is therefore from every point of view best entitled to be considered, being the nearest to the original stock, the most appropriate head of the Clan Chisholm; and his claim to this position has very properly been acknowledged by the Lyon King-at-Arms.

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE FOLK-AND-HERO-TALES OF THE CELTS.*

[BY ALFRED NUTT.]

"As to the origin of popular tales there are three current opinions:—

"First, it is said that the minds of men are similarly constituted in all parts of the world, and when they are similarly placed will produce similar results, therefore similar stories have sprung up simultaneously all over the world, and though they resemble each other have really nothing in common.

"Secondly, it is said 'These are the work of wise men in the East whose writings we know; we know when and where these writings first appeared in Europe and these have spread over the whole world.

"Thirdly, it is held that these ideas were originally the offspring of the minds of men in the East, at a period when great part of the earth was waiting for men to own it; when language itself was young, before the ancestors of those who now dwell in India and in Barra set off on their travels. In short, it is held that these despised stories are the fragments of the early myths and beliefs, moral tales, and heroic pastimes of the early ages of the world."—*J. F. Campbell, Popular Tales IV., pp. 300-301.*

I HAVE prefixed the above quotation to my paper both on account of its being on the whole the tersest statement of the folk-tale problem that I am acquainted with, and because it serves as a fitting introduction to work devoted mainly to a careful examination of the materials brought together by Mr. Campbell with such loving care and such admirable conscientiousness.

Of the three opinions which Mr. Campbell cites as current, the first has long been discarded; the real fight has been between the partisans of the second and the third. Of the one school J. G. von Hahn is the most eminent representative, of the other Benfey. Each one settled the question conclusively to his own mind; the conclusions of neither have commanded

* This paper was read before the Folk-Lore Society, March 9, 1880. I intended at the time to work it up for press, but was led to elaborate special points instead of revising the whole. In this way my two articles, "The Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula in the Folk and Hero Tales of the Celts" (*Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. IV.) and "Mabinogion Studies, T. Branwen" (*Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. V.) took shape. My friend Mr. Macbain, to whom I lately sent the MS., which had been lying aside all these years, kindly offered to print it, although I told him I could not, owing to pressure of other work, reshape it as I should wish. I have confined my revision to a few verbal corrections, to deleting what I now hold to be actually mistaken, and to a supplementary note or two. In the main I still hold by all the opinions expressed in this paper, though I should now put many things very differently.

universal assent. And justly so; we know far too little as yet of the conditions of the problem to offer with certainty any solution. The amount of research and criticism expended on the subject has indeed been vast, but I believe that we are only at the beginning of the task, and that it will be long before we are entitled to do more than submit conjectures, which may indeed be accepted as working hypotheses, but as nothing more.

I do not intend to do more than criticise existing material, but I hope that in so doing I may be able to throw light on some of the most vexed questions of "Storyology." Whichever hypothesis as to the origin of folk-tales be adopted, the interest and value of the specially Celtic portion are the same. If these stories are indeed the fragments of early Aryan mythology, then the Celts, as the admittedly earliest offshoot from the common stem, will be likely to have preserved peculiarly valuable and primitive forms of this mythology. If, on the other hand, we hold with Benfey, that the majority of these stories were unknown in Europe before the 10th century, and that their subsequent spreading was due to the Mongols, to the Crusades, and to the vast interchange of thought between East and West which the latter brought about, we have to account for the extraordinary fact that the Celts, living in the remotest corner of Europe, seemingly most cut off from the above named influences, have more than any other race assimilated this literature, preserved it with more tenacity, woven it closer in their national life, and let it influence more decidedly their national traditions—whilst at the same time a race dwelling in the same island, and connected with the Celts by ties innumerable, has been indifferent in the extreme towards this literature, and has allowed it to perish almost utterly. Mr. Campbell's collection is additionally interesting on account of its offering material which was not available to the scholars who have essayed at different times to cover the whole field of "Storyology," and offer a solution which should satisfy all the conditions of the problem. The third volume of Grimm and Benfey's *Pantschantastra*, the two most exhaustive collections of folk-tale facts that exist, were both in print before Mr. Campbell's first volume made its appearance. The portions of Liebrecht's translation of Dunlop which deal with the romantic cycles of the Middle Ages, would

suffer considerable alteration in the light of the relationship of Gaelic folk-tale to the Mabinogion, and of both to the above named cycle. Finally, J. G. von Hahn could not have failed seeing how much in Celtic folk-tale makes for his views, and we should have had a few more pages of acute and ingenious comment added to the masterly preface of the Albanian tales. It is true that Dr. Köhler, on the appearance of Mr. Campbell's first two volumes, introduced them with his accustomed learning to the scholars of the Continent in the pages of *Orient und Occident*.* To his commentary I am most deeply indebted. I may be allowed, however, to point out that he has passed over in silence many of the most interesting tales, and that in particular he has taken no notice whatever of those which may be referred to the national heroic cycle. And this brings me to the special value and interest of Mr. Campbell's collection, namely, the light it throws upon the connection between folk-and-hero-tales. This is one of the most controverted points in comparative mythology, one on which the most learning and ingenuity have been expended. Now, it may safely be affirmed that unless a collection of Greek nursery tales turn up in the libraries of Pompeii or amidst the unexplored treasures of some Levant monastery, the most important documents in the case are those preserved by Celtic literature and tradition.

Mr. Campbell's collection consists of 86 Nos., which may be grouped as follows:—

Class A.—Popular tradition and folk-lore.

Class B.—Folk-tales.

Class A. comprises some half-a-dozen numbers. I may put it aside at once as not coming within the scope of this paper.

Class B. I would sub-divide as follows:—

I.—Folk-stories.

II.—Folk-tales proper, or märchen.

III.—Heldensage, or hero-tales.

This grouping, it will be seen, corresponds practically with that adopted by Mr. Ralston in his *Notes on Folk-Tales*, published in the first volume of the Folk Lore Record, my Class I. being his non-mythological, and my Class II. his mythological section. There

* 3 vols. Göttingen, 1860-64.

being no hero-tales in Grimm's collection (which is analysed in that paper), so there was no necessity for his making a third section. Mr. Ralston's terminology seeming to me to beg the question at issue, I have preferred to use that given above; it is of course purely arbitrary, but it has the advantage of taking nothing for granted.

Class I. need not detain us long. I fully agree with J. G. von Hahn as to the organic difference between the "Märchen" and the "Schwank," or, as I would say, between the "folk tale proper" and the "folk-story," and I cannot admit that arguments founded upon examination of tales of the latter class can be of much value in endeavouring to arrive at a solution of the folk-tale problem.

I put 23 Nos. in this class, and roughly sub-divide as follows :—

No. 8, Murchag and Mionachag, is an accumulative story of the House that Jack Built type. It is remarkable as being more complex in structure than any other known tale of a similar character.

There are two Gothamite stories, No. 20 (The three wise men) and No. 48 (Sgire mo Chealag), both of the usual type, with the exception that to the latter incidents of No. 20 Dr. R. Köhler knows no exact parallel.

Ten animal stories No. 11 (The White pet) Nos. 49, 57, 62 to 66, 71 and 72. No. 11 alone is important; it is a good version of a very widely spread popular tale which has in Germany a literary pedigree dating back to the 16th century and which is known to all readers of Grimm as the Bremer Stadt-Musikanten.

Two purely moral tales, Nos. 17b (The Baillie of Lunnain) and 19 (The Inheritance), both of which have been dealt with by Mr. Ralston in his *Notes on Folk-Tales* already referred to.

Six trickery stories, No. 15 (The poor brother and the rich) 17d (The Shifty lad), 39 (The three widows), 40 (The Son of the Scottish Yeoman), 45 (Mac a Rusgaich), and 78 (The master and his man). Of these, 17d and 40 belong to the "Master Thief cycle," and can boast a pedigree more illustrious and a relationship more extended than perhaps any other folk-tales. For did not Herodotus write down the first over 2000 years ago, and so little has the story changed since then that Campbell thought it

needs must have been spread through the Highlands by students home from Aberdeen and St. Andrews. Dr. R. Köhler shows, however, that the Gaelic story is most closely connected with the version contained in *Dolopathos*, the French adaptation of the *Seven Sages*, written down by the Abbot of Haute Seille towards the end of the 12th century. As is well known, the *Seven Sages* went into English and into Lowland Scotch at about the same time, viz., the middle of the 16th century. It would be of interest to ascertain whether either of these two adaptations contains our story.

No. 40 is equally widely spread. There again the Gaelic has a special feature—the stealing, namely, of the daughter.

No. 39 (The three widows) is familiar to all as Big Klaus and Little Klaus. This story, which has a literary pedigree dating back to the 10th century, and of which every race in Europe possesses three or four versions, has been annotated by Dr. R. Köhler with an exhaustive erudition which admits of nothing being gleaned after him.

Nos. 45 (Mac a Rusgaich), and 78 (The Master and his man), belong to the “feigned fool” series. The incidents in both are usual. Variants of No. 45 are existent, according to Campbell, with *objectionable* incidents. These are probably to be referred to that particular branch of the “feigned fool” series so ably treated of by Liebrecht in the first volume of *Orient und Occident* (reprinted in his “Zur Volkskunde.”)

Finally, there are one or two puzzles, e.g. No. 21. From the above rapid summary it will be seen that our collection contains versions of nearly all the leading folk-stories, the versions being according to Dr. Köhler, as a rule good and full. I have already said that I do not think any conclusions as to the real folk-tale problem can be drawn from consideration of these stories. If Benfey had recognised the distinction, so ably set forth by J. G. von Hahn, between *Schwank* and *Märchen*, and had confined his conclusion to the first class, his case would, I think, have been correct in a large measure.

I now come to the folk-tale proper, or *Märchen*. I reckon in this class forty-one tales, of which about five are doubtful, belonging, perhaps, more properly to Class I., and six belonging equally to this class and to Class III., *Heldensage*.

The classification of these tales has been a matter of some difficulty. I quite agree with Mr. Ralston as to the artificial nature of existing schemes of classification; as he says, "too much attention is generally paid to the mere framework of the story, more stress being laid on the accidental than the essential parts of the tale." Another demerit of both J. G. von Hahn's and Baring Gould's schemes is the great inelasticity of the formulas, making it necessary to refer almost every tale to several different sections, thereby rendering a bird's eye view of any given collection almost impossible. Mr. Ralston's scheme, on the other hand, seems to me to err on the side of too great elasticity. His formulas are so very general that, perhaps, no two classifiers working on his system would arrive at anything like the same result. I have adopted a scheme, therefore, which stands about mid-way between Mr. Ralston's and J. G. von Hahn's. At the same time I have thought it would be of value to classify the collection according to J. G. von Hahn's scheme, which, after sixteen years, still remains the most exhaustive arrangement of folk-tale incidents. In summarising his scheme, I have mainly followed Mr. Ralston.—

DIVISION A.—FAMILY.

GROUP I.—HUSBAND AND WIFE.

SUBDIVISION A. DESERTION.

1. Cupid and Psyche formula. Of this story, known to every Scotchman as the Black Bull o' Norrway, our collection has two versions. No. 3, The Hoodie; No. 12, The Daughter of the Skies.
2. Melusine formula. The final incident of No. 86, Daughter of King Under the Waves, may, perhaps, come under this formula.
3. Penelope formula. Nothing.

SUBDIVISION B. EXPULSION.

1. Calumniated Wife. Geneviève formula. I have nothing that can be referred to the formula, but perhaps No. 17, The chest belongs to the calumniated wife series.

SUBDIVISION C. SALE OR PURCHASE.

1. Wife sells her husband to rival. This is the well-known Catskin or Black Bull o' Norrway incident, and it occurs in both our versions—Nos. 3, The Hoodie; and 12, Daughter of the Skies.
2. Maiden puts price on her charms. Our collection has no story of this class, which accords with the high estimation in which all Celtic races hold female chastity.

GROUP II.—PARENT AND CHILD.

SUBDIVISION A.—CHILDREN LONGED FOR.

- Section 1.—They assume monstrous shapes. Nothing.
2. They are promised to supernatural being. This incident occurs in Nos. 2 (Battle of the Birds); 4, The Sea-Maiden.

3.—Their birth is attended by various wonders. This incident nearly always occurs in connection with the previous one. Our collection only has it, however, in No. 4.

SUBDIVISION C.—EXPOSURE OF CHILDREN.

Section 1.—Babe exposed by unmarried mother.

(Antiope formula). Nothing.

Section 2.—Babe exposed by married parents.

1. In consequence of supernatural warning.

2. From want of food.

3. Through malicious representation of third person. Nothing.

Section 3.—Exposure of babe and mother.

Danae and Persens formula. Nothing.

Section 4.—Daughter exposed to monster.

Perseus and Andromeda formula. Only No. 4, The Sea-Maiden.

SUBDIVISION C.—STEPCHILDREN.

Section 1.—Daughter persecuted by stepmother.

Little Snow White formula. Our collection has only the opening incident of No. 43, The Sharp Grey Sheep.

Section 2.—Brother and sister persecuted by stepmother (Phrixus and Helle formula). Nothing.

GROUP III.—BROTHER AND SISTER.

SUBDIVISION A.—YOUNGEST BEST FORMULA.

1. Male form.

Nos. 4, The Sea-Maiden ; 52, The Knight of the Red Shield, and 58, The Ridere of Grianag may in part be referred to this class.

2. Female form. Cinderella formula. Our version of Cinderella, No. 43, The Sharp Grey Sheep, comes naturally under this heading.

SUBDIVISION B.—TWINs HELP ONE ANOTHER. (Dioscuri formula).

Only the end incident of No. 4, The Sea-Maiden.

SUBDIVISION C.—Sister or mother betrays brother or son. Nothing.

SUBDIVISION D.—Sister rescues brother from enchantment. (Seven Swans formula). Nothing.

H SUBDIVISION E.—Supplanted heroine series. Our collection has nothing connected with this widely-spread series.

SUBDIVISION F.—Hero helped by supernatural brothers-in-law. Nothing.

DIVISION B.—MISCELLANEOUS.

GROUP I.—Bride Winning.

Section 1.—By exploits.

Nos. 2, The Battle of the Birds ; 9, The Brown Bear of the Green Glen, and 16, The King of Lochlann's Three Daughters.

Section 2.—By ingenuity. 22, The Knight of Riddles.

GROUP II.—Abduction of Heroine.

Section 1.—Heroine carried off by force.

(Proserpine formula). Nothing.

Section 2.—Heroine consenting party (Helen and Paris formula). With this may be compared No. 70 of our collection, Diarmaid and Grainé.

Section 3.—Medea and Jason formula. Hero materially helped by heroine. This is our No. 2, The Battle of the Birds.

GROUP III.—Swan Maidens Robbed of Garments and Married. The opening and closing incidents of No. 10, The Three Soldiers, may perhaps be referred to this class.

GROUP IV.—Snake-brought herbs restore life. Nothing.

GROUP V.—Forbidden Chamber. Bluebeard formula—No. 41, The widow and Her Daughters, and perhaps No. 13, The Girl and the Dead Man.

GROUP VI.—Monster without any heart. The second variant of No. 2—Battle of the Birds; No. 1, The Young King of Esaidh Ruaidh; and No. 4, The Sea-Maiden. There is likewise in No. 74, Manus, a magician, whose heart is outside his body.

GROUP VII.—Grateful beasts. These occur in Nos. 1, Young King of Esaidh Ruadh; 2, The Battle of the Birds; 4, The Sea-Maiden; 9, The Brown Bear of the Green Glen; 16, The King of Lochlann's Three Daughters, and perhaps in No. 74, Manus.

GROUP VIII.—Hero, tiny but brave (Tom Thumb formula). No. 79, Thomas Thumb.

GROUP IX.—Strong Fool.

GROUP X.—Faithful Servant. Nothing.

GROUP XI.—Disguisal of hero; Nos. 2, Battle of Birds; 4, Sea-Maiden; 9, Brown Bear of Green Glen; 10, Three Soldiers; 16, King of Lochlann's Three Daughters; 22, Barra Widow's Son; 44, The Widow's Son; 58, The Ridere of Grianraig. All these stories belong more or less to Mr. Ralston's Goldenlock cycle, and are held by him to spring from the same root as the Cinderella cycle. Disguisal of heroine, 17, Maol a Chliobainn.

DIVISION C.—CONTRAST OF INNER AND OUTER WORLD.

SUDIVISION I.—Hero killed or maimed by demon, but revives. Perhaps No. 23, The Burgh.

II.—Hero defeats demon. Nos. 5, 6, 7, Conal Crovi. No. 30, The Two Shepherds; and 75, Crumple Toes and Shambling Shanks.

III.—Hero tricks demon. 17, Maol a Chliobainn; 37, The Brollachan; 42, The tale of the soldier.

IV.—Lower World visited.

There is to my knowledge no instance of Hades being visited either in Celtic folk-tale or romance.* Visits to Elysium, on the contrary, occur more frequently than in either the popular or romantic literature of any other race. This is a point of very considerable importance.

(To be continued.)

* I except, of course, such purely ecclesiastical legends as the Voyage of St. Brendan. With this exception, the other world nowhere figures to my knowledge in Celtic popular tradition as a place of torment or penance.

GEORGE, FOURTH EARL OF CAITHNESS OF THE
SINCLAIR LINE.

[BY GEORGE M. SUTHERLAND, F.S.A. SCOT., WICK.]

(Continued.)

THE life of the Earl of Caithness, by Sir Robert Gordon, is grossly a misrepresentation. The history of the Earl's career, as narrated by Sir Robert, cannot from any point of view be considered as genuine. Sir Robert has a special animus against this Earl, for the reason that he had brought the fortunes of the House of Sutherland to almost their lowest ebb, while from his ability and influence, he had made himself for a time the master of the several clans in the counties of Sutherland and Caithness. His position as heritable Justiciar of the two counties gave him ample scope to carry his designs into effect. Sir Robert is not by any means satisfied as to the manner in which the Earl secured the office, as if almost any office was given at the time for honourable dealing. He got it mainly from Queen Mary on account of some real or proffered services in connection with the murder of Rizzio, and the appointment was afterwards confirmed by Parliament on 19th April, 1567. Sir Robert alleges that "many men of all sorts were put to death, banished, stripped of all their wealth, disabled of their bodies, by unlawful and unusual varieties of punishments," and again "to be wealthy was a capital crime; and to favor Earl Alexander was a ready broad way to assured destruction." There is no evidence to establish these general statements. Judging from the state of the times, the moral sentiment of the period did not expect that the head of a clan in the far north should be too sensitive as to the course he might adopt. Earl George had, by law, the wardship of the young Earl of Sutherland, and there is no proof to show that he was extremely harsh, before the people of Sutherland began to stir themselves against him. But after they had thwarted him in what he might have considered the legal execution of his office, he, no doubt, was not over-particular as to the methods he took to crush his opponents. He could safely say, however, that the method he selected was the only one going at the time,

In the year that he obtained the office of heritable Justiciar, he also acquired a confirmation of the grant of the hospital lands and rents of St. Magnus, in Spittal.

The Earl of Sutherland attained his majority in July, 1573, and the wardship of the Earl of Caithness over Sutherland came to an end. The Earl of Caithness had therefore to leave that county with his bag and baggage. A messenger-at-arms, named William Taylor, was sent to Girnigoe Castle to summon the Earl to betake himself from the possessions of the family of Sutherland. Sir Robert Gordon alleges that as soon as the Earl of Caithness had been made aware of the presence of the messenger in Caithness, he instructed Murdoch Roy to kill him. For whatever reason, it seems clear that the messenger was killed. Beyond Sir Robert's unsupported statement there is no evidence to prove that the Earl was a party to the murder. Indeed, the Earl had Murdoch Roy executed for the murder of the messenger. But Sir Robert turns round and avers that Roy was executed, not on account of the murder of the messenger, but because Roy was plotting for the liberation of John, Master of Caithness, who was then imprisoned in Girnigoe Castle. The fact is that no act, however generous, which the Earl of Caithness could perform, but would be twisted by Sir Robert in such a fashion as would be injurious to the Earl.

The loss of the wardship deprived the Earl of Caithness of considerable influence, and in 1578 that influence was further diminished, because in that year Earl Alexander obtained from the Lords of Session an exemption for the County of Sutherland from the Commission of Justiciary held by the Earl of Caithness. The Earl of Caithness was getting aged at this time, but he nevertheless used all his powers against the exemption, but without avail, although assisted by the Earl of Morton, then Regent of the Kingdom.

It has already been mentioned that Lady Barbara Sinclair, the wife of Earl Alexander, had carried on a criminal connection with Mackay, who carried her off to Strathnaver, where they lived together as husband and wife. In 1573, on account of this connection, the Earl of Sutherland obtained a divorce against her, but shortly afterwards she died,

The Earl of Sutherland also raised legal proceedings against the Earl of Caithness for many acts of mismanagement while he held the wardship of the Earl of Sutherland. These continued for a long time, and tended to still further increase the hostility of the two rival houses. Mr. Robert Mackay states, with reference to the Grant of Justiciary of Sutherland being granted to the Earl of that county, that "this abridgement of the influence of Caithness was for some years followed by a comparative degree of quietness in the North."

It is believed that some understanding took place between the Earl and his son the Master of Caithness, in connection with the attack on the Murrays at Dornoch, and that the Master after this difference lived with Mackay at Strathnaver. It is averred that both Mackay and the Master had designs on the life of the Earl—that at anyrate the Earl thought so himself. He intrigued therefore to get them into his power, and repeatedly invited them to Girnigoe Castle. Latterly the invitation was accepted; they both arrived at Girnigoe Castle, but Mackay saw too many armed men for any innocent purpose. He thereupon turned about his horse and fled, but the Master, not appreciating the circumstances, was instantly seized and thrown into the dungeon, where Sir Robert Gordon affirms he was kept a prisoner in chains for seven years. Sir Robert has, however, a slightly different version of the mode of capture. He observes that "the Earl of Catteynes caused by a secret signe, a company of armed men rush in at the doore, and apprehend the Master, who was presentlie fettered in sure bands, and thrust into prison within that Castle, wher he was keiped in miserable captivitie for the space of seoven yiers, and died at last in prissone by famine and vermine, as a disasterous subject of a cruell fortune." There is reason to believe that William Sinclair, the Earl's second son and ancestor of the Mey family, was privy with the father, in all movements as to the imprisonment of the Master. Several plots were set on foot for the liberation of the Master, but the plots were discovered, and the would-be liberators were forthwith executed without much ceremony at the gibbet tree of the castle. On one of these being executed through the detective qualities of William Sinclair, the Master became so enraged that on the first visit of William to

the dungeon the Master attacked him with his iron manacles, and bruised and wounded him so much that he died a few days afterwards. The tradition in the district is that for this offence the Master was not allowed food for several days, after which a piece of salted pork was thrown into the dungeon, which he devoured greedily. He called for water, but he would not get a drop to drink. It is said that he died a raving maniac a few days thereafter. There is another version that he died having partaken of too much brandy. There is no doubt, however, that he was murdered in some way. The Earl of Caithness built, some years before this took place, the "Sinclairs' Aisle," in the Churchyard of Wick. In this aisle the Master was buried. There is a stone over his grave, on which there is the following inscription—perfectly distinct :—"Here lies entombed ane noble and worthie man, John, Master of Caithness, who departed this life the 15th day of March, 1576." The Master was married to Jane Hepburn, daughter of Patrick, Earl of Bothwell; and they had of a family—1, George, afterwards Earl of Caithness; 2, James, first of Murkle; and 3, John, first of Greenland and Rattar. They had also a daughter, named Agnes. This is the list given by Mr. John Henderson, in his *Caithness Family History*, but, as will be afterwards seen, there was another daughter Mary, Lady Cowdenknowe.

It is well known that all writers on local history have done their utmost to point the finger of scorn at this Earl as an unprincipled and cruel nobleman. In this general condemnation we do not by any means concur, even although the death of the Master of Caithness in Girnigoe Castle is assumed to be an unanswerable argument. The true test, indeed the very best index, by which the character of the Earl can be estimated, is to trace the underlying motives that animated his conduct—and these consisted in doing his utmost to amass wealth, and to establish a powerful house. He was eminently successful for a long time, and as the Master grew from boyhood to manhood, he evidently expected that the son would assist him in this great aim of his life. The Earl had no higher interest or motive than that the Master, his successor in the Earldom, should attain high distinction by adding to the power and influence of the family. He (the Earl) had almost for half-a-century before,

through good report and bad report, made the destiny of his family the main object of his existence. He had no other policy, and on the lines which he set before himself, he acted in the most resolute and industrious manner. But the Master was indifferent to his aims, and did not share in his aspirations. They had no common ground of action—the Earl was an eminent statesman, wily and shrewd, while the tastes of the son were lax and grovelling. The nature of the son was by no means a counterpart of that of the father. The Earl reared a family, but he saw that the members of that family were inferior in mental and even moral capacity to himself. His actings had shown that he had done everything in favour of his son. On 12th August, 1566, he procured a charter of the Earldom to "John, Master of Caithness, and Jean Hepburn, his spouse, reserving liferent of George, Earl of Caithness, his father." The Earl himself lived apparently happy with his Countess, Elizabeth Graham, until her death in 1572; but although the Earl honoured the Master and his wife by the above grant, the wife, Jean Hepburn, had to divorce the Master shortly thereafter for adulterous connection with several women. The Master refused to account to his mother for some intromissions with land, of which she had given him charge, and, as related in a previous article, she had him summoned before the Sheriff Court of Inverness. He had disobeyed orders at Dornoch. He became the associate of the man who had tainted the family honour, and his residence at Strathnaver augured no good for the peace or prosperity of the Earl. Taking into consideration the spirit of the times—human passion, as well as the feeling of revenge then so common for wrongs or grievances—possibly the Earl was compelled to consign the son to the gloomy dungeon of Girnigoe Castle. Once there, the father might have a somewhat difficult task to know how to act. Mr. J. J. Calder states that the Master was confined about six years—a year less than mentioned by Sir Robert Gordon. But there are papers in the possession of the present Earl of Caithness at Barrogill Castle which ought to put this matter at rest. In some arbitration documents between George Sinclair of Mey, and Mary Sinclair, daughter of John, Master of Caithness, and wife of John Horne of Cowdenknowe, it would appear that

the exact period of his imprisonment was about 2½ years—that is, from the month of September, 1572, till his death in March, 1575. The murder of William Sinclair by the Master in the dungeon was, there is every reason to assume, the cause of his own death very soon afterwards. The Master was by no means the innocent and straightforward man that he is so often represented to have been, and on the other hand the Earl is not altogether blameable for the death of his son, as, taking the worst possible view of the circumstances, there are as many extenuating points to be taken into account as possibly almost to cover his guilt.

The Earl all along led a very active and eventful life. Even in 1581 he was one of the principal leaders against Morton, and in the same year he was appointed Justice for the Rivers in Caithness.

He died in Edinburgh in 1582, and was buried in the Chapel of Roslin. The following inscription is placed on a monument to his memory, although somewhat defaced by a mob in 1688:—"Hic jacet nobilis ac potens Dominus Georgus quondam Comes Cathanensis, Dominus Sinclair, Justiciarius hereditarius, Diocesis Cathanensis, qui obiit Edinburgi, 9 die mensis Septembris, anno Domini 1582." The Earl's heart was taken out of his body and enclosed in a casket, and sent to Wick, where it was deposited in the church there.

Sir Robert Gordon in his History writes: "Earle George wes a worldlie, wyse man, politique, craftie, and provident, whereby he heaped together a great quantitie of treasure." Tytler remarks that "he was of accommodating principles both in politics and religion." In religion he was anything, but if anything a Roman Catholic. He was a Lord of the Articles, and a member of the Privy Council. He amassed great wealth, and left it to his youngest son, George Sinclair of Mey. He studied his own interests, and for the long period of fifty-four years, in the midst of much strife, and many political changes, he was able to preserve his own life and conserve his own interests, and this certainly speaks volumes for him.

AN SAMHRADH.*

'S mi ag eirigh bho m' leabaidh,
 Anns a' mhaduinn chiuin Cheitein,
 Bha gach ian air bharr gagain
 Gu sunndach aigeantach eibhinn ;
 Bha "gù-gùg" aig a' chubhaig,
 Air barr a' ghiuthais ga greineadh,
 'S an dreathan-donn ann le seannsair,
 Gu siubhlach, rannsach, ga ghleusadh.

Bidh 'm bricein-beith' agus surd aig,
 Air bacan cuil 's e na ònar,
 Bidh an uiseag 's a luinneag fein aic,
 Dol tre na speuraibh 's na neoilbh,
 'S an smeorach sior toirt dhi freagar,
 'S mac-talla chreaga ga comhnadh.

Dh' imich mise lan sòlais,
 Dh' eisdeachd ceol an cuid dranndachd,
 'S iad bhi seinn bhar nan ògan,
 'S bhar na meoir a bha dannsadh.
 Thug sud toil-inntinn ro mhor dhomh,
 Anns an og-mhadainn shamhraidh,
 'S thuig mi thoradh na mìos ud
 Nach bu chrionach measg chrann i.

Nuair sheall mi mu 'n cuairt domh
 Measg nam bruach is nan cosan,
 Bha gach craobh gu ro shnuadhar,
 'S duilleach uain' oirr' mar chomhdach.
 Bha 'm beith' gu cuisleannach, sugh-ghorm,
 'S an dealt mar dhruchd air gle lodail,
 'S a' ghrian a' cur na smuid deth
 Le teas a gnuis thar gach mor-bheinn.

* This song, the preservation of which we owe to Mr. W. Macbain, Dunachton, who gave us most of it, and also to the energy and enthusiasm of Mr. D. MacIain, Inspector of Poor, Alvie, who collected and collated versions of different parts of it, was composed about half-a-century ago by Donald Macpherson, Balchurin, in Badenoch, better known locally as "Domhnall an Tailleir." Donald was a "ceannaich paca," or pack-merchant, in his youth, but he left his native place over forty years ago for Edinburgh, and was a policeman for a short time. He thereafter spent thirty years of his life in Newcastle, in the employment of Mr. MacEwan. He returned to his native place some two years ago, and died—died by "Sweet Alvie's lake," as he himself beautifully expressed the wish in an English poem which he wrote many years ago in Newcastle. He wrote several poems in English, some of which appeared in the columns of local newspapers.

'S nuair chaidh mi air astar,
 Dh' ionnsaidh leacainn nam mor-bheann,
 Bha gach caochan 's gach glacag
 'S iad a' lasadh le boidhchead;
 Bha gach stucan 's gach cnocan
 Fo lan bhrat de gach neonan,
 'S fraoch du-ghorm nan stacan,
 Ann am bratach Chlann-Domhnaill.

Bha na feidh air gach bealach
 A' leum 's a' caradh le sòlas,
 Bha na h-eildean gle channach
 'S iad fein 's an leannain ri cronan.
 Agus laoigh bhreac bhallach
 Bu chubhradh 'n anail ri pogadh
 Le bainne brìgheal bho 'n chanach,
 'S cha d' fhuair iad ann air an fhòlach.

'S nuair sheall mi mu 'n cuairt domh
 Cha d' fhuair mi ach sgleo dhiubh,
 Na daimh chabrach 's na h-eildean
 'S iad le cheil' air an fhuaran.
 Leiginn coin air bharr eill riu,
 'S gunna gleusd air mo ghualainn,
 'S dh' fhagainn cuid dhiubh nam bantraich,
 'S neor-thaing thoirt do 'n bhuachaill.

Bidh na bric air gach alltan,
 Tighinn bho na h-aimhnuichean lùbach,
 Ceapadh chuileag, is strann aca,
 Air feadh nan gleann is nan sputan.
 Bidh gilleann cridheil is crann aca,
 'S dubhan cam ann nan giuran,
 'S iad a' leum gu neo-chearbach,
 Le soillsean airgid gu bru-gheal.

A rìgh ! bu shuirdeal an coileach
 Toirt fuaime le cheileir air crualach,
 'S a' chearc a' sìor thoirt dha freagairt,
 'S an t-àl a' beadradh mu 'n cuairt dhi.
 A rìgh ! gur taitneach gach blàran,
 Le lach is ràc a' chinn uaine,
 'S coileach dubh nan sgiath bàna
 Cha b' e bu tàire ri luaidh dhiubh.

Nuair a chaidh mi mo ghàradh,
 Bu chubhraidh faile nan ròsan,
 Bha na *lilies* a' fas ann
 Fo iomlan blàth mur bu choir dhoibh,

Suighean cuile agus lair ann,
 Dearca a gruaidh-dhearg is gròsaid,
 'S gur ubhlach peurach gach crann dhiubh
 'S blàths an t-shamhraidh ga 'n comhnadh.

'N àm tigh'nn dachaidh bho'n eadradh,
 Gur binn fead aig gach buachaill,
 'N àm dha 'n chrodh bhi ga'n leigeil,
 'S na laoigh bheag bhi mu 'n cuairt daibh;
 Bidh an crodh guailleann ga'm beadradh,
 'S na laoigh freagairt an nuallain,
 'S gruagach chridheil, og, ghàireach,
 Air ceann gach àl diubh le buaraich.

Nuair thig foghar nan gràs oirn,
 Theid surd 's gach ait' chur air buana,
 Cuid le 'n corran 's le 'm fal'dair,
 Ga ghearradh bhan anns na sguaban;
 'S cuid le 'n eich toirt nan làd leo,
 'S cuid ga charamh 'sna cruachan,
 'S mar sin theid toradh an t-samhraidh,
 Na chairtealan geamhraidh gu bhualadh.

'S iomadh buaidh tha 'san t-samhradh,
 Nach 'eil 'sa' gheamhradh dhubh, reota,
 Thig toil-inntinn gun taing dhuinn,
 'S theid a' chrannnachd am fogradh;
 Ged tha iteag an fhirein,
 Gun aon sgios a' cur rod rith',
 Sguiridh mise do sgrìobhadh,
 Mu 'm fag mi sgith sibh le bòilich.

UNPUBLISHED PROVERBS.

Chunna mi mo chall agus cha b' é sin.

I have seen my loss, but that was not it.

Do dheoin duit a dh-aindeoin.

Have your wish in spite of you.

Coileach a' Mhàrt bidh e na thrathadair daonnan.

A March cock is always the best watchman.

FRAGMENTS OF FAIRY AND FOLK TALES.

BAD PARENTS AND BAD MASTERS.

CRUELTY to children or to servants is a feature of life which appears often in folk tales. Sometimes, as in the case of Paris, Perseus, and such heroes, there is a prophecy that the child which is to be born will be the ruin of his family or the death of some prominent relative. As a consequence, the child, instead of being killed, is "exposed," that is to say, he is placed in some sequestered spot where it is expected that he will die, but where instead he is found by some chance passer-by and reared, finally destined to fulfil the prophecy. At other times, the reason why the parents act so unnaturally towards their children is that food is scarce, and hence they resolve to kill their children so as to have them out of the way. The stepmother is responsible in the tales for cruelty and witchcraft, and often the stepchildren have to run away. Or the parents may develop a desire to eat their children, an act of cannibalism which the young people escape through the cleverness of one of their number who overhears the parents discussing the point. In Campbell's tale of the "King Who Wished to Marry his own Daughter," No. 14, a different phase of crime appears. Von Hahn's classification of these incidents can be seen in Mr. Nutt's paper in this number at page 463. These tales may be a reminiscence of the time when, in the history of the race, cannibalism, human sacrifice, and such like atrocities were practised. The following two fragments have come to us from the Tongue district of Sutherlandshire, and are translated by the collector.

THE BAD PARENTS.

There was once a man, and his three sons were a bother to him for the want of food that there was, so he wished to get rid of them. He told his wife of his wishes, and she agreed that the children ought to be put out of the way, but she could not think of any plan that would not arouse suspicion. At last the wife said: "We will set the barn on fire, and the neighbours will think it went on fire of itself, and we shall have the children in the barn at the time." So this was agreed upon, but

it happened that one of the lads was listening, and he told it to his two brothers. At night they were told to go and sleep in the barn. They went there, but instead of sleeping they ran away, and, standing a short distance from the house, they looked back and soon saw the barn all a-blaze. Accordingly, they resolved to try their fortune. They parted at a certain place and were to meet there exactly a year from that day.

The oldest walked all next day, and was very tired. He made on a house of light and asked for quarters, but he was told the house was haunted by an evil spirit, and all who stopped in a certain room at night were found strangled in the morning, and this was the only room they could spare. He said: "I will take my chance of it." He got a Bible and a white candle and went to the room. He closed the door and was for some time reading the Bible when he was startled by the appearance beside him of a grey-haired man. He asked him in the name of the Trinity what he was doing there. The ghost said that he had got great wealth by unjust means, and this he wanted to tell. Said he: "Look at that stone in the wall; behind it there is a space full of gold and silver; tell them about it. The money is yours, but take care of the people here." The lad carried out the instructions of the ghost and he became quite a gentleman, and it is no wonder that his brothers did not know him when he met them at the year's end on the roadside, with his carriage and pair.

The foregoing is all we could get of this story, and, as a consequence, the adventures of the other brothers remain unknown.

THE BAD MISTRESS.

A lad and a lass were servants at a certain house. Their mistress was a most cruel woman, and always gave them more work than they could possibly do. So they were planning to make their escape. On one occasion the lad had to clean the stables all in one day, a work which it was impossible for him to accomplish. So the young pair ran away riding on one horse. They were soon pursued by their mistress. The lad said, "We shall be captured," but the girl asked him to take a bit of stick out of the horse's ear, and then throw it behind them. This he did, and immediately there was a wood between them and their

mistress. When she came to the wood and could not get through, she said, "Had I my magic hatchet I would soon make a way for myself." She went back for the hatchet, and not long after she cut through the wood, and was coming up with the pursued. This time the girl asked the lad to throw a stone that he would find in the left ear of the horse behind them. When this was done there was a large barrier of rock before their mistress, and she said, "Had I my magic pickaxe, I would soon hew out a way for myself." She went back for the pickaxe and hewed her way through. She was coming up to the lad and the girl once again. This time the lad, at the girl's bidding, threw behind him a drop of the horse's sweat, and there was a lake between them and their mistress. Said she, "Had I my great swan here I would soon pass, for it would drink up all the water." So she went back for the swan and brought it to the loch. It drank almost all the water, but then it burst, and matters were then as bad as before. The mistress saw a fox and asked him to carry her across the lake. So the fox took her on his back and came to the middle of the loch and there he asked her to sit nearer his tail. This she did, but almost immediately she slipped off and was drowned. So the lad and lass escaped unharmed.

REVIEWS.

IRELAND AND THE CELTIC CHURCH: A History of Ireland from St. Patrick to the English Conquest in 1172. By GEORGE T. STOKES, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Trinity College, Dublin. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

PROFESSOR STOKES has written a work that ought to give the quietus to the controversies about the nature of the Celtic Church—controversies which raged about the questions whether it was Presbyterian, English Episcopal, or fully Roman Episcopal. His style is popular; indeed the work consists of a series of seventeen lectures delivered in his capacity as Ecclesiastical Professor in Trinity College, and, as a consequence, the language is racy and the literary effect is very fascinating. Although the work is popular, yet it is also critical and scientific, and the

author has added in the shape of footnotes the necessary references to authorities, and the additional illustrations, more or less technical, which his lecture required. The book is not merely a history of the Celtic Church in Ireland; it also contains, as its secondary title indicates, a civil history of the country, more especially from the beginning of the 9th century to the Norman Conquest. He does not refuse to give a glance at the earlier mythical history of Ireland, and he is doubtless right in considering that real history commences with Cormac Mac Art in the first half of the 3rd century. The period of Cormac is a historical oasis of fact in the midst of fiction before and after it. Irish history, however, like the history of most European States, commences with the introduction of Christianity or soon thereafter. We undoubtedly do meet with names, such as those of Nial of the Nine Hostages at the beginning of the 5th century, which represent real and powerful personages, and their conquests and achievements are not altogether fictional, but have some basis of fact. It was Loegaire, son of Nial, that, as King of Ireland, met Patrick on his arrival there in the first half of the 5th century. From this century onwards, the history of Ireland, as found in the native historians, and as proved by the text of contemporary foreign writers who have referred to Irish incidents, is as reliably known as any in Western Europe. Professor Stokes graphically shows the state of utter confusion that existed in Ireland when the Danes arrived. Not merely did princes rob and harry each other, burning, murdering, and plundering at large, even not sparing monasteries and churches, but leading ecclesiastics took part in these tribal wars, and, not only so, but carried on monastic wars. The king-bishop, Phelim of Munster, we are told, "in 826, and again in 833, spoiled the termon lands and sanctuary of Clonmacnois. On this last occasion, he slew the religious and burned the sanctuary up to the very doors of the principal church. He treated in the same way the celebrated Columban monastery of Durrow. In 836 he stormed the sanctuary of Kildare, where the Bishop of Armagh and his clergy had taken refuge. In 840 he burned Armagh, in 846 plundered and burned a second time the sanctuary of Clonmacnois, till finally this warlike priest died in 847." The Danes are, therefore, not responsible for all the plundering

and burning of monasteries and murder of priests that took place in the 9th and 10th centuries. Despite all these wars, there was a considerable civilisation among the Irish at the time. Their weakness lay in the fact that the Brehon law was only an arbitration which the offending party might disregard; the enforcement of its decrees was altogether a matter for the aggrieved individual; the central authority, the king or tribal chief, did not concern himself with its administration or enforcement. Irish history, from the 8th to the 12th century, is unpleasant reading, but under the English rule it is pitiful.

Professor Stokes' chief object, however, is the history of the Celtic Church. In his first chapter or lecture, he shows that Christianity was introduced into Ireland before St. Patrick or rather before St. Palladius. Prosper of Aquitaine says—"Palladius was ordained by Pope Celestine for the Scots believing in Christ, and was sent as their first bishop." And it would appear from the wrathful remarks of Jerome about his opponent's feeding on Scotch porridge, that Ireland sent scholars to the Continent in the 4th century. Southern Ireland was probably converted to Christianity in the 4th century, and the work of the missionaries that go under the name of Patrick was probably the conversion of northern Ireland. We have some fault to find with Dr. Stokes' treatment of St. Patrick. We should like to have found that he sifted his historical materials better. It is not enough to drop the miraculous element out of these saints' lives. Is St. Patrick's *Confession* an authentic document? The earliest MS. in which it is found is the *Book of Armagh* of the 9th century, and the copies in other and later MSS. contain nearly as much additional matter as there is in the *Book of Armagh*, which is not found in that book. Are these additions interpolations? Now, it is upon this *Confession* that Patrick's life and history mainly depend. The letter to Caroticus comes in the same category as the additions to the *Book of Armagh*, for it is not found in that work. Patrick is not mentioned by Columbanus, Bede, or, indeed, any writer till the 9th century, with the exception of the reference to him in St. Adamnan's *Columba*, where he is simply called the "bishop Patrick." Prosper of Aquitaine and Bede call the Irish apostle Palladius; he is the real Patrick. For

we must remember that the name Patrick or Patricius means "Patrician" or "Gentleman," a fact which is somehow recognised by the Irish popular song which tells us that—

St. Patrick was a gentleman, and came of decent people.

This term was to some extent a common title up to the 7th century, and hence Palladius may have been "patricius" or "gentleman." The Irish annals confuse three persons under the name of Patrick. First, Palladius is confounded with Patrick, and probably he is the real one; secondly, Senn Patric or Old Patrick, who was tutor of the third Patrick, is represented as dying in 457; while, thirdly, St. Patrick, from Strath-Clyde, whose *Confession* we have in the *Book of Armagh*, died in 493. These dates are from the *Annals of the Four Masters*. The Annals mention that Patrick was 122 years at his death; the Irish apostle must beat the great Jewish priest and leader by two years! The fact is, Bishop or Archbishop Patrick is a rather late invention, useful in the ecclesiastical controversies that arose in the 7th and 8th centuries and later. The organisation which the ideas connected with his name indicate did not exist in the Celtic Church at that early stage.

The early Celtic Church was monastic; there were no dioceses. Were we to believe the ordinary accounts, the Irish Church sprung up full-blown diocesan and ecclesiastically graded under St. Patrick, like the full-panoplied Minerva from the brain of Jupiter. This is mere reading back into Celtic Church history modern and mediaeval ideas. It was a missionary church; it spread by the reproduction of monasteries similar to the mother monastery in the districts and tribal areas that seemed sufficiently extensive and needful. The abbot was the head and the bishop was under him and attached to the monastery for purposes of ordination. The inmates of the monastery regarded themselves as a clan, not a graded organisation; they preserved, indeed, the customs of their race so far as these suited celibacy and religious discipline. So much was the clan idea ingrained in the Church that of the first eleven successors of Columba at Iona nine were of his own family. The period of two hundred years of isolation which the Celtic Church enjoyed till the beginning of the 7th century only showed how far the Roman Church had

meanwhile travelled in the way of change. The first dispute was in regard to the observance of Easter, a dispute which lasted one hundred years, being finally settled about the middle of the 8th century. Roman ideas slowly made their way, and bishops gained more power, though they were not attached yet to dioceses: indeed, they were too plentiful for anything else than a parochial jurisdiction. The Danish invasion intervened meanwhile, and the process of assimilation to Roman methods was hindered. Indeed, it was only with the English conquest that the Celtic Church was finally conformed to Rome. This Dr. Stokes shows with unmistakeable clearness. It is amusing to read the various shifts resorted to for the explanation of the facts that bishops like those of Cashel and Armagh were married men handing down their office by hereditary succession. They were married men till the 12th century. Armagh was for two centuries held from father to son or heir. Scotland presents the same facts in its early ecclesiastical history; it was the reforms of Queen Margaret and her sons that put an end to these abuses.

Professor Stokes' book contains valuable information on other ecclesiastical topics. He discusses the question of Greek and Latin learning in the Irish monasteries. In the 7th and 8th centuries Ireland was famous for its schools of learning. It sent scholars and missionaries to the Continent in great numbers, and received in return into its schools students from all parts. Bede tells us how the English resorted there for study. Two points Professor Stokes has almost made his own by the excellence of his treatment. These are, first, the question of oriental influence in the Celtic Church, which he finds to have been great, and, secondly, the question of the Irish Church architecture, with which is connected the origin of the Round Towers. These Round Towers were built in the 9th and following centuries for adornment to the churches, and Professor Stokes traces their locality of origin to Styria, north of Palestine. We would have wished to notice many other interesting facts of Celtic life, civil and ecclesiastical, which Professor Stokes has in such a captivating form placed before us, but space forbids.